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*gfiles* begins the New Year on a sombre note. Our cover illustration showing Mother India on a barbecue pit—literally being cooked on a spit—as venal robber barons from all walks of life and professions drool in anticipation of carving out their share, is not a very pleasant sight. New Year magazine covers are usually of a happy sort—light, fluffy stories, feel-good articles, annual supplements and the like. But our editors made an informed decision that we should start the year by focussing on what all progressive Indians must face up to and tackle in the coming year: The scourge of rampaging corruption.

The good news is that the issue is finding a lot of takers. The nation has, mercifully, not been blinded by or become inured to this pestilence. The IC Centre for Governance under former Cabinet Secretary Prabhat Kumar has honed in on a solution by pushing a new anti-corruption legislative idea. Crusading former police officers and judges and lawyers are also in the fray, hurling stones from slingshots, as it were, to smite Goliath in the middle of the forehead.

Even better news is that the ruling Congress party has been forced to listen. In an unusual gesture, the Prime Minister has agreed to appear before Parliament's Public Accounts Committee and party chief Sonia Gandhi has recommended that Chief Ministers be shorn of their discretionary power to make land allotments.

Any suggestion that loosens the grip of corruption and dams the overflowing sleaze is welcome, whether by tethering individuals to a code of conduct or by changing institutions. But, in all the worthy proposals I have examined, I find missing a basic fundamental reform that would be an effective mechanism for investigation and accountability: A true constitutional separation of powers.

We can scream ourselves hoarse about the politicisation of the civil service, protection of whistleblowers and the like until the cows come home; but until we take the first step in separating the executive from the legislature, the proposed remedies will remain only Band-aids. Under our current system, the legislature is the slavish extension of the executive. Ministers (legislators) and Ministries (civil services) are the country's executive themselves! How then can they be accountable to the legislature in which a party whip will ensure that no embarrassment occurs to the executive no matter how corrupt?

In addition, the lower judiciary is also run by the executive branch through a system of magistrates who administer law and order, collect taxes, spend taxpayer money and sit in the courts as judges. And these very bureaucrats report not only to the Ministers at the state level but also at the Centre.

In short, India is really an executive dictatorship in which the lines between the executive, judiciary and legislature are so blurred that true accountability followed by certain punishment can never become a firm reality.

Public interest lawyers and civil and social activists can make proposals and plug all the loopholes they want to stem corruption. The trouble is, the system itself is the biggest loophole. We need a nationwide debate to change the Constitution to accommodate a real separation of powers even if it means considering democratically electing a President and a legislature separately.

Happy New Year

INDERJIT BADHWAR

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Cover Illustration: ARUNA

## Corruption unbounded

I am an IAS officer of the 1965 batch belonging to the Union Territories (now AGMUT) cadre. I retired in 2003 after holding some of the seniormost posts in the Delhi government. I have been a keen reader of *gfiles*. I have noted its comments on corruption, particularly your issue of December in which you have mentioned how Arjun Singh felt strongly enough on this issue to have resigned in bygone days whereas today such action is unheard of. I personally feel great anguish about the magnitude of corruption in which the country is steeped today. Yes, it had always existed, but there was a modicum of shame and disgrace attached to it. Now it appears to be an achievement.

I have written a poem on corruption which expresses my feelings.

*CORRUPTION*
*Steeped in ignominy he stands*
*Exuding ugliness all around*
*Gnarled fingers stretching horizontally*
*Polluting all within his grasp*
*A hideous virus spreading a sea*
*Of suppurating greed.*
*A naked beast he does not need*
*A mirror to acknowledge his shame*
*But relentlessly follows his game.*
*Higher he cannot proceed*
*But wherever his roots pierce the ground*
*They suck drop by drop the nation's blood*
*Leaving anaemic children around.*
*How much more will the monster grow*
*Before its poison reaches its core*
*To self-destruct and leave behind*
*A compost from which fresh flowers may spring*
*To find a sane and proud tomorrow*
*A long awaited awakening.*

*Krishnalekha Sood,* via email

## Website needs a search string

You guys are doing an excellent job and bravo for that. But it disappoints me to see that your PR department is not pushing this wonderful product aggressively. Also, kindly add a search string on your site. Sometimes we need to search for a particular news item and we cannot find it.

By the way, whatever happened to that Praful Patel scam exposure? How come that story died, without making headlines along the lines of the Adarsh scam? Your journos had done an absolutely fantastic job of putting that together. How about reviving it? We need to punish/expose corrupt politicians.

*IndiaFreedomFight,* via email

## Kargil omitted

You have not touched on the Kargil blunder ("Seven blunders of India", December issue). It was the height of a massive intelligence failure and now with scams all around senior officers have lost the respect of the troops for all time to come.

*Major K Ramesh,* on blog

## Abolish Rajya Sabha!

Why debate only the Rajya Sabha television channel ("Rajya Sabha — Does it need a TV channel?", December issue)? What about abolishing the Rajya Sabha?

*Shammi Narang,* on blog

## *gfiles* is worth preserving

I congratulate you for bringing out this highly informative, thought-provoking and different magazine with write-ups by senior journalists and latest updates of international standard. I found the magazine worth preserving. While congratulating you once again for this significant initiative of yours, I sincerely and from the core of my heart wish for its everlasting success. *gfiles* is the finest example of healthy journalism which people all over the country will definitely appreciate in the days to come. My best wishes and good luck for the success of this endeavour.

*Sunil Negi, President, Uttarakhand Journalists Forum,* on blog

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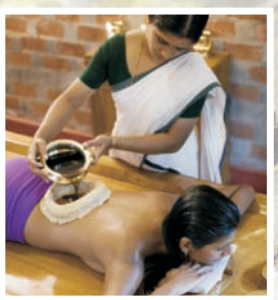

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# Heart of DARKNESS

## Rampant corruption has thrown the nation into a vacuum of both g

*"Governance and leadership are the yin and the yang of successful organizations. If you have leadership without governance you risk tyranny, fraud and personal fiefdoms. If you have governance without leadership you risk atrophy, bureaucracy and indifference."* —Mark Goyder

by **MG Devasahayam**

INDIA appears to be a heady concoction of both "governance without leadership" and "leadership without governance". The result is there for all to see – tyranny in dealing with the poor; widespread fraud in every sphere; mushrooming political and personal fiefdoms; atrophying civil, police, judicial and military services; and gross indifference to democratic norms and public opinion.

The root cause is the all-pervading corruption that has become the number one national security threat by eating into the vitals of the state, enfeebling internal security and crimping foreign policy. Corruption has stalled equitable development, undermined social progress, undercut the confidence of citizens in the fairness and impartiality of public administration, impeded good governance, eroded the rule of law, distorted competitive conditions in business transactions and fostered a black market economy. India could well be called a "scandal superpower" rather than the much-touted "economic superpower".

Launching his massive movement against corruption in the mid-1970s, Jayaprakash Narayan had said: "As I diagnose the root cause of the country's critical state of health, I identify it unhesitatingly as corruption and precipitous fall in the moral standards of our politics and public life." In response, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi proclaimed that "corruption is universal" and crushed JP's movement by imposing Emergency – destroying democratic governance to protect the corrupt.

In the event, sleaze has boomed and India is today among the most corrupt countries in the world. The irony is that this is the land where honesty and integrity in public and private life have been glorified and upheld in ancient epics such as the *Vedas*, *Upanishads* and in the scriptures and beliefs of every religion practised here!

The scenario, as it is unfolding, is frightening.

**PM Manmohan: Mr Clean will have to act forcefully**

**If the Radia tapes are to be believed, the Centre is formed not by the Prime Minister elected by the people but a motley crowd of fixers and freeloaders.**

## h governance and leadership

REUTERS

Nevertheless, as the saying goes, it is better to light a candle than curse the darkness. Given the immensity of the problem, igniting a forest fire could well be an option. Since that is neither democratic nor a lasting solution, government and institutional integrity is the right place to start.

Where is the government and who forms it? If the Niira Radia tapes are to be believed, the Centre is formed not by the Prime Minister or the representatives elected by the people but a motley crowd of fixers and freeloaders. Bureaucrat-turned-politician NK Singh aptly describes this government as a *"Shivji ki baraat"* (a reference to a kind of Noah's Ark with many creatures, from scorpions and serpents to elephants and tame deer). Remember MS Gill's description of the Commonwealth Games as *"Kalmadi ki baraat"*! Where do you find "integrity" in such muck?

**Radia: convenient scapegoat or only a symbol?**

**Sleaze has boomed and India is today among the most corrupt countries in the world. This is the land where honesty has been glorified in ancient epics.**

What about institutions? Starting from the Emergency days, all institutions of governance have been systematically decimated and made impotent. The methodology adopted is to fill key institutions with pliable bureaucrats or "agenda-men" of questionable reputation. Three prestigious institutions – the Central Vigilance Commission, Prasar Bharati and the National Human Rights Commission – are in a state of turmoil. The Constitutional institution of the Election Commission went through a similar phase a couple of years ago.

The IAS and IPS are no longer coveted by the youth. A civil servant who took voluntary retirement laments: "I was a very proud youngster when I got into the IAS in 1962. And when I voluntarily retired in 1995 most of that pride had vanished. Today, even that little pride has been replaced by an unspeakable shame." Nothing more need be said about the crème de la crème of the civil services and even less so of the IPS. The integrity of the armed forces, the sword-arm of India, is also severely enfeebled by repeated scams and scandals surfacing at regular intervals.

The judiciary is a towering institution and its highest tier – the Supreme Court – is at present probing mega scams with the likelihood of many more in the offing. Yet this institution itself is in the throes of a crisis caused by the impeachment of judges, the "uncle judge" castigation by the apex court and the stinging affidavit by former Law Minister Shanti Bhushan alleg-

## Lighting a candle to dispel the darkness

WHERE do we light the candle? To start with, the PMO, Cabinet Secretariat and upper echelons of the civil services should be revamped. Sycophants, time-servers and agenda-men should be replaced by mandarins with merit and scruples. Even with such rot in the system, such men and women are not difficult to find. The Union Cabinet should be reconstituted with at least some merit being counted as qualification. In this hour of crisis, a national government comprising men and women of merit, honesty and integrity, transcending political barriers, can be considered.

Opposition stalled Parliament for a month, but achieved nothing. If it is sincere about combatting corruption, it should insist that Parliament be re-convened immediately to transact the following business:

**(a)** Passing the Anti-Corruption, Grievance Redressal and Whistleblower Protection Bill, 2010. Drafted by Santosh Hegde, former Supreme Court judge and currently Lokayukta of Karnataka, and Prashant Bhushan, Supreme Court lawyer, it was submitted to the Prime Minister on December 1, 2010. It seeks to replace the mutually exclusive anti-corruption agencies with an autonomous Lokpal combining within it the powers and mandate of the CBI and the CVC and with jurisdiction over politicians, bureaucrats and judges. Besides being able to independently initiate investigation and prosecution without prior permission from any other agency, the body will act as an appellate authority in respect of public grievances linked to bribery.

Whistleblowers will also come under the protective purview of the Lokpal instead of the CVC. The 10 members and chairperson of the Lokpal will be selected by a transparent and participatory process and any complaint of wrongdoing against a member will be required by law to be investigated and acted upon within a month through a transparent process.

The Bill aimed at constituting the Lokpal has been pending since 1968. It was revived in 1971, 1977, 1985, 1989, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2005 and 2008 but was never passed by both Houses of Parliament. Its passage would be followed by amended State Lokayukta Acts.

**(b)** Amending the concerned laws or rules to provide for the inclusion of the Chief Justice of India and another eminent public figure in the Committees to select high-ranking independent or Constitutional authorities. Amendments should also be made to allow publication of the proceedings of the Committees, along with the particulars of persons considered for the panel and the reasons for which the final selection was made.

**(c)** Legislating the Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill, 2010 to bring about transparency and accountability in the selection and appointment of judges and punishing the corrupt and errant ones without going through the tortuous process of impeachment. Also, scrapping the colonial contempt laws under which the corrupt and deviant judges are at present taking cover.

**Sycophants, time-servers and agenda-men should be replaced by mandarins with merit and scruples.**

ing corruption among erstwhile Chief Justices of India, backed by his advocate son, Prashant Bhushan, with evidence. Despite all this, the higher judiciary has no rules to regulate the selection, appointment and conduct of judges and there is lack of transparency and accountability. The fallout is the unseemly public spat between a former Chief Justice of India and a sitting Supreme Court judge.

BE that as it may, if some candles are to be lighted, let us start from the basics: "leadership with governance" and "governance with leadership". There is an ancient proverb: "A fish rots from the head down." When the head is putrid, the body politic cannot be healthy. When those at the helm remain wedded to corruption, the rest of the body politic stinks. The Prime Minister is the head of the government and the person to provide leadership. The present incumbent has failed in this. His being personally honest is irrelevant. The fact is that he presides over a government that has the dubious distinction of being publicly named as the most corrupt and rudderless in post-Independence India.

In the past six years, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has not lifted a finger to build or strengthen any institution of good governance that could combat corruption and decay in administration. In fact, in recent times he has weakened them and compromised their integrity. He has also severely debilitated the senior bureaucracy by patronising and promoting a cloistered, clannish and inbreeding system, which is largely responsible for the rot the country is in. g

# Haryana

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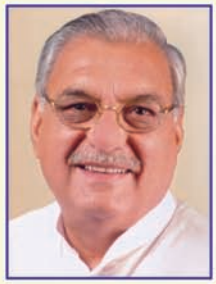
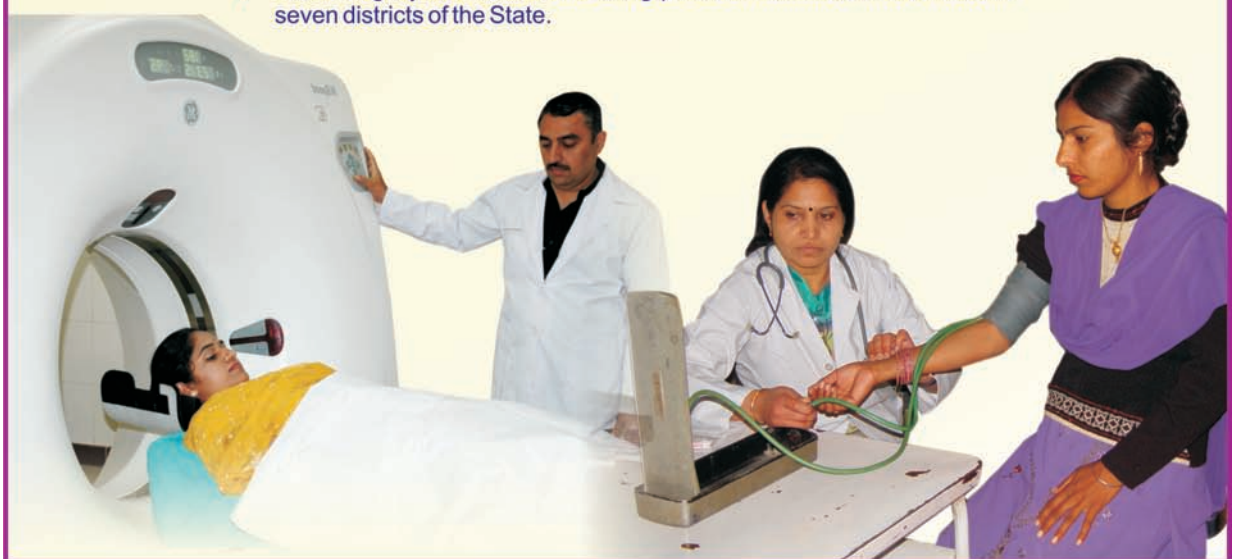


**Bhupinder Singh Hooda**
Chief Minister, Haryana

- A new Surgery Package Programme is being implemented to provide cost-effective, hassle-free and affordable surgeries to patients in district hospitals of Haryana.
- Families living below-poverty-line and residents of urban slums notified by the Department of Urban Local Bodies are entitled to free surgeries under this scheme.
- Now, the patients opting for being operated in Government Civil Hospitals of Haryana will be given surgery packages on the pattern of private hospitals.
- The price in this surgery package would be quite nominal as compared to the private hospitals.
- Once the amount for surgery is charged from the patient, the entire responsibility of providing medicines and medical equipments to patients would be that of the hospital administration.

## Free Medicines For All

- Free medicines are provided to pregnant women in case they require to undergo operation at the time of delivery.
- Free test and treatment facilities are being provided to all TB patients under TB Control Programme.
- Multi Drug System cases are being provide medicines free of cost in seven districts of the State.



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# INDIA's FIVE CELLULAR SCAMS

Radio spectrum, the carrier of wireless communications, is a scarce but reusable natural resource. It has been the focus of policy manipulations and corporate battles. Today, this issue has fireballed into a controversial national issue of such prodigious political proportions that it threatens the very stability of the government. **Naresh Minocha** explains the historical perspectives and intricacies of the spectrum wars now being investigated by the CBI under Supreme Court supervision and how billions of rupees went down the drain

## SCAM I: The metro tender revenue goof-up

IT all began in January 1992 when the government invited bids for two cellular service licences each in four metros. It fixed both the licence fee and telecom tariff. In the case of Delhi, for instance, it fixed a ridiculously low fee of Rs 2 crore in the first year, Rs 3 crore in the second year and Rs 6 crore in the third year for the capital's telecom operator.

The government did not initially charge any upfront fee for spectrum. Later, however, it fixed modest charges for spectrum usage. The award of licences was delayed by about two years due to fierce litigation triggered by the highly discretionary criteria for selection of winners. The criteria included rental to be charged from the consumers, project financing plan, foreign exchange inflow-outflow, and foreign partner's operating experience.

The weightages to seven such criteria were assigned after submission of bids, giving government a free hand to decide whom to make the king and to whom to show the door. It was small wonder that the Cellular Operators Association of India (COAI) dubbed this competition a "beauty parade".

Neither licence winners such as Bharti nor the government bothered to enforce the obligations such as exports and publication of directories that were mandatory in the tender documents given by the winners.

The National Telecom Policy (NTP) was framed in 1994, about two years after the selection of eight cellular operators for four metro cities.

Both the initial metro competition and a subsequent one in 1995 for two cellular licences each in 19 telecom circles were conducted even before the formation of the statutory Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI).

The cart was thus put ahead of the horse even before the advent of telecom reforms and regulations purportedly aimed at providing a level field in the bid for the frequency spectrum—a public resource because, after all, the airwaves belong to the public and must be apportioned in the public benefit to operators who must behave as licensed public trustees.

The licence fee-based bidding competition for services in the 19 circles gave the government an idea of the non-tax revenue potential: The quoted licence fees aggregated Rs 20,000 crore for a 10-year period. Analysts had then concluded that the government had frittered away its chance to earn Rs 10,000 crore as licensing revenues from the initial metro tender.

PIB

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SHARAD SAXENA

**(From left) PJ Thomas, Siddhartha Behura and A Raja: three musketeers making merry**

## SCAM II: The royal bailout scheme

NEXT, the cellular service operators (CSOs) resorted to lobbying and litigation to prevent the entry of public sector MTNL in the cellular telephony business. MTNL and its big brother, Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL), had thus to wait till 2000 to start providing cellular services in a phased manner.

The high tariff charged by toddler CSOs smothered the demand for mobile telephones. The year 1998 witnessed even fiercer multi-faceted lobbying by CSOs, their lenders, and foreign governments to change the entire governance regime. To institutionalize the planned post-tender changes, the government jettisoned NTP 1994 and came out with a new policy in March 1999.

NTP 1999 changed the upfront annual payment of bidding competition-derived licence fee to a one-time entry fee, followed by payment of licence fee in subsequent years as a percentage of revenue earned by operators.

Later, the periodicity for payment of revenue share-based fee was fixed at quarterly intervals.

To implement the new policy, the government unveiled a package for migration of existing licencees from fixed, yearly fee regime to revenue-sharing arrangement in August 1999. It also envisaged extension of the validity of cellular and other telecom licences from 10 years to 15 years.

Through this extension, the government frittered away the opportunity to organize fresh bidding for licences/spectrum for five years. This decision obviously led to revenue loss of thousands of crores of rupees to the exchequer.

The migration package resulted in a revenue forfeit of Rs 50,000 crore, as estimated by an NGO in its petition to the Delhi High Court filed at that time.

## SCAM III: The WLL-M loss

BOTH the cellular and basic service (wired telephony) operators promptly lapped up the package. The private basic service operators (BSOs) were earlier selected in 1995 through competitive bidding.

The government awarded a fourth cellular licence in each telecom circle in 2001. The licencees were selected through competitive bidding. Simultaneously, the government adopted open-door policy for basic services. Any company could secure a basic service licence by payment of fixed one-time licence fee.

An innocuous provision in NTP was wireless local loop (WLL), a wireless technique of providing connection to the

subscriber from the nearest junction box or remote line unit of a telephone exchange. WLL has its origin in the 1994 BSO tendering competition that stated that the operators would not be allowed to use copper cable over a certain distance of the local loop. BSOs were thus required to use costlier optical fibre in the local loop or WLL.

BSOs exploited WLL and dubbed it WLL with limited mobility (WLL-M) to compete with CSOs. While CSOs used tender-mandated GSM technology, BSOs provided WLL-M with a rival cellular technology named CDMA. BSOs could have used other WLL technologies but they opted for CDMA to provide illegal competition to GSM-based cellular operators.

WLL thus turned out to be an Indian policy ploy created to enable influential BSOs to provide cellular service under the garb of basic service and thus avoiding paying higher entry fees payable by any cellular service entrant.

When CSOs and BSOs locked horns over WLL, the government again activated its role of kingmaker. It decided to unify cellular and basic service licensing by introducing a single licence under the name unified access service (UAS) in November 2003.

BSOs such as Reliance and Tata were obvious beneficiaries of UAS as they had paid lower fees for basic licences as compared to the ones required for cellular licences. Both BSOs and CSOs ultimately embraced UAS.

### SCAM IV: Letting dominant CSOs ride roughshod

THE fourth scam, which was at the core of the latest round of spectrum wars, is allotment of excess spectrum to dominant CSOs. Had the government sold this additional 2G spectrum through bidding among existing operators or had it offered the spectrum to prospective entrants through competitive bidding, the national exchequer would have received thousands of crores of rupees.

In addition, over the years, there was a gradual reduction in licence fees payable by CSOs and other telecom licencees. Under the revenue-sharing arrangement, the annual licence fee for cellular/UAS has been reduced from 17% of the adjusted gross revenue (AGR) earned by operators in 2001 to 6-10% AGR at present.

### SCAM V: Last-come-first-served by Raja

THE fifth financial scam happened in January 2008 when ousted Telecom Minister A Raja decided to allot UAS licences on a first-come-first-served basis without bidding competition. The applicants were required to pay only licence fees arrived at in 2001.

The charge against Raja is that he had frittered away the opportunity to earn higher licensing fees under the booming market conditions. There have also been allegations in the manner in which the cut-off date of October 1, 2007, was announced and later advanced to meet the flood of UAS applications.

The beneficiaries of Raja's licensing regime include Reliance Telecom and Tata Telecom, both of whom had so far provided cellular service through CDMA technology. They now acquired UAS licences to provide GSM-based mobile telephone service. Other beneficiaries of Raja's regime include Unitech Wireless and Swan Telecom, both of whom sold significant stakes in their telecom ventures to foreign companies at very high premiums, thereby giving fresh ammunition to Raja's critics that he sold UAS licences for a song.

Following the relentless media campaign against Raja, the Central Bureau of Investigation registered a case in October 2009 to investigate alleged irregularities in issue of UAS licencees.

The loss due to licensing of 2G spectrum, that comes bundled with the UAS licence, has been estimated at between Rs 60,000 crore to Rs 1,24,000 crore by critics. g

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# हम गावों को ही नहीं दिलों को भी जोड़ते हैं

"उन्नति का मार्ग सड़को से ही होकर गुजरता है। राजस्थान सरकार ने विभिन्न सड़क योजनाओं और वर्तमान सड़क तंत्र के सुधार कर देश की प्रगति को नई दिशा दी है। राजस्थान अब सड़कों के विकास की दृष्टि से देश का अग्रणी राज्य बनने की ओर तवरित गति से अग्रसर है।"

श्री अशोक गहलोत, मुख्यमंत्री

## सड़क विकास के लिए महत्वपूर्ण कदम

- सा.नि.वि. के अन्तर्गत वर्तमान सड़कों की मरम्मत एवं संधारण के हेतु रु. 63 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान।
- राज्य में 2120 कि.मी. लम्बाई के 8 नये राष्ट्रीय राजमार्गों के निर्माण प्रस्तावों की क्रियान्वति प्रारम्भ।
- प्रधानमंत्री ग्राम सड़क योजना के तहत 1844 कि.मी. सड़कों का निर्माण, लगभग सभी कस्बे व गांव सड़क से जुड़े।
- इस योजना के तहत 7691 कि.मी. सड़कों के उन्नयन, नवीनीकरण एवं सुदृढ़ीकरण कराया गया।
- राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग सं. 8 के जयपुर–गुडगांव खण्ड में 1897 करोड़ रुपये की लागत से छह लेन निर्माण कार्य अंतिम चरण में
- ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में 590 कि.मी. सड़कों का निर्माण से 112 धार्मिक स्थलों को सड़क मार्ग से जोड़ा गया।
- राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग 76 के चित्तौडगढ–कोटा खण्ड में 160.5 कि.मी. का 1200 करोड़ रुपये लागत से कार्य पूरे।
- सार्वजनिक निर्माण विभाग व कृषि विपणन बोर्ड द्वारा 738 कि.मी. लम्बी मिसिंग लिंक सड़कों का निर्माण कार्य पूरे।
- सड़कों के विकास पर 3468.56 करोड़ रु. व्यय।

## सड़कों का विकास
## हर गांव, हर कस्बे का विकास

सूजस राजस्थान

# Is nothing sacred?

## Cricket, stock market, entertainment... where will it end?

by **Vijay Sanghvi**

IN 1995, addressing the AICC session, Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao had lamented the fact that the economic reform regime lacked a human face. Four governments and 15 years later, it is still missing. The economy has taken rapid strides, raking in wealth for the upper strata but the lower strata has remained at the same level. Socioeconomic justice for the deprived classes is still a cause to fight for.

It is ironic that wealth is generated at one end and violence at the other by the same liberal economic regime. The problem is that it has failed to ensure equitable distribution of generated wealth. The government and the political system are unable to find a solution to the ostentatious display of newly-gotten wealth. To compound the problem, a number of social and cultural aberrations have crept in.

Economist Arjun Sengupta, a member of the Congress party, had warned the political system about increasing economic inequality. The upper strata was exploiting its vantage position to widen its access to the growing world market, and using innovation to maximize productivity through cheap labour in a country burdened with widespread unemployment and dispirited labour unions. The upper strata multiplied its income by 55 times while the lower strata remained at more or less the same level as before. The latter's purchasing capacity was further reduced because of the price spiral and inflation.

In this societal transition period, several aberrations sprang up – causing social and cultural distortions. Mumbai stockbroker Harshad Mehta took advantage of the greedy side of human nature to make a quick fortune. He introduced a *modus operandi* for industrialists to mobilize their resources without any obligation to repay if they went in for public issue for their ventures. The rising graph on the index board of stock markets induced the middle and lower middle classes to invest more than Rs 93,000 crore in public

**The political system cannot solve the problem of ostentatious display of newly-gotten wealth. Social and cultural aberrations have crept in.**

**Indian Parliament: problem or solution?**

PIB

# विद्युत उत्पादन में आत्मनिर्भरता की ओर

# बढ़ते कदम

- सरकार के कार्यकाल में किसानों के लिये बिजली की दरों में कोई बढ़ोतरी नहीं।
- छबड़ा, सूरतगढ़ और बांसवाड़ा में कुल 3960 मेगावाट क्षमता के सुपर किटिकल ताप विद्युतगृह स्थापित करने की स्वीकृति।
- 220 एवं 132 केवी ग्रिड सब स्टेशनों की स्थापित क्षमता में 3126 एम.वी.ए. वृद्धि।
- गिरल (बाड़मेर) में 2x125 मेगावाट (यूनिट 3–4 स्टेज –।।।) लिग्नाइट आधारित तापीय विद्युतगृह की स्थापना का निर्णय।
- 79 हजार 988 कुटीर ज्योति कनेक्शन जारी।
- 19 हजार से अधिक घरेलू लाइटिंग सिस्टम स्थापित ।
- शहरी क्षेत्रों में बी.पी.एल. परिवारों को मात्र 2500 रुपये में विद्युत कनेक्शन।
- 1248 गांवों का विद्युतीकरण व 102698 कुओं का ऊर्जीकरण
- 199.6 मेगावाट क्षमता की पवन ऊर्जा परियोजनाओं से विद्युत उत्पादन प्रारम्भ।
- समस्त लम्बित कृषि आवेदकों को आगामी पांच वर्षों में हाथों – हाथ कनेक्शन देने की योजना।
- रामगढ़ (जैसलमेर) में तृतीय चरण में 160 मेगावाट क्षमता के गैस आधारित ताप विद्युत गृह स्थापना की योजना।

**अशोक गहलोत**
मुख्यमंत्री राजस्थान

बिजली हमारी रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी का ही नहीं, उद्योग, व्यवसाय, रोजगार तथा कृषि उत्पादन के साथ राज्य के समग्र विकास का आवश्यक अंग है।

विद्युत उत्पादन क्षमता बढ़ाने के लिये राज्य सरकार द्वारा तीन सुपर किटिकल ताप बिजलीघरों की स्थापना के निर्णय तथ वितरण तंत्र में सुधार से राजस्थान के विद्युत उत्पादन में आत्मनिर्भर बनने का मार्ग प्रशस्त हो गया है। इससे राज्य चहंमुखी विकास की ओर अग्रसर होगा।

घर–घर में रहेगा उजियारा बिजली कटोती से मिलेगा छुटकारा

सूजस राजस्थान

issues in a single year, using up their lives' savings and liquidating other assets for the purpose. Most of the money was lost as there was no control over those who vanished with it.

The then Finance Minister, Manmohan Singh, had refused to lose sleep over heavy fluctuations in the stock markets. He is an economist who feels the movements of prices but not the pangs of pain of those who lost their savings. The only consolation was that the Narasimha Rao government was forced to accept the joint parliamentary probe into the securities scandal. But it did not assess the investors' loss. The government's response was routine – yet another law was enacted and a bureau for investigation set up. Both were punitive but not preventive.

Turn from bourses to stadia. The IPL was an aberration for it shortchanged the game of cricket – for more than 150 years considered a gentleman's pastime. It was turned into a money-minting machine for those who could invest a few hundred crore rupees in buying talented players for their teams. While cricket was rolling in wealth, other sports were starved of even basic facilities. Empty stadia did not bother either organizers or players because the big bucks were flooding in through a different conduit. Exclusive television rights were sold at unbelievable prices. When big money comes in, corruption and other evils cannot be far behind.

Next, the expansion of communications facilities and the visual media made it easy to introduce gambling in an entirely new form. A reality music talent show minted nearly a hundred crore rupees simply by encouraging its viewers to vote for the show's participants by sending text messages at a special rate. The booty was shared between the show producer, the network and the mobile service providers. Did it occur to anyone that all this encouraged parochialism which can be lethal for national integrity?

**IPL's celebrity team owners: changing rules of the game**

**The IPL has shortchanged the game of cricket. It was turned into a money-minting machine for those who could invest a few hundred crore rupees.**

REUTERS

**Mumbai stockbrokers took advantage of the greedy side of human nature to make a quick fortune.**

The transition of Indian society from an agrarian to a modern one ought to have sounded the death knell for centuries-old feudal concepts. But some families that have benefited from the liberal economic regime still want to retain their feudal symbols of status. In the old days, a *mujra* was considered the most coveted form of entertainment. A reputed *tawaif* would be assigned the task of titillating guests on festive occasions for her *mujra* was symbolic of the exalted status of the family. Today, the *tawaif* has been replaced by a filmstar but her task is still titillation.

The vulgar and ostentatious displays of wealth provoke radical elements to use violence to seek socioeconomic justice for the poor. The logjam over the mode of the parliamentary probe into the spectrum auction served as further incitement for these elements. It will only complicate the battle to curb their activities.

The government does not need a specific law to curb such vulgar displays of wealth. Many existing rules and regulations can serve the purpose, provided the government wishes to act. But technocrats always find it difficult to understand aberrations that distort culture and value systems.

So, over 15 years, various governments and political parties have been unable to devise a model for economic development that will suit the diverse social conditions of India. The kind of aberrations that have crept in could have been tolerable in a country of lesser population and not so stark economic inequality.

The pity is that these aberrations do not denote modernism, they are merely symbols of vulgarity. And even the intellectuals of contemporary India have not raised their voices on this issue. g

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In addition to the projects under NHDP, NHAI is also currently responsible for about 1,000 km of highways connecting major Ports and NH 8A, 24, 6, 45 and 27.

NATIONAL HIGHWAYS AUTHORITY OF INDIA

# 'The RTI now offers open protection to the corrupt'

## The police officer-turned-advocate who exposed the Adarsh scam speaks about battling corruption in the force, in court and in his novels

I left the police force in 2005 because I could not stand the level of corruption prevailing. In my 1985 batch of 82 officers, every other officer was promoted to Joint Commissioner of Police. Only I remained at the rank of Deputy Commissioner of Police. You can be tolerated in the force if you are honest but inefficient. But not if you are honest and also active. Then you are dumped in a non-executive posting.

Today, society does not care for upright officers. Society makes heroes out of dead people. But have you ever seen a living officer elevated to the status of a hero? Dynamic people are dumped without consideration of merit. During my two stormy decades in the IPS, I was also posted in the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI).

I could not stomach indiscipline. In a disciplined force, you cannot be indisciplined. So I decided to leave the IPS and take up law. I had a Master's in economics and got a gold medal in the LLM exam.

In the force and also in the legal profession, my forte has been dealing with sensitive cases related to conventional crime, land scams, corporate and government corruption, illegal construction, bureaucrats' cases and human rights violations. I have recently exposed three major cases – the Adarsh Society scam, the Lavasa scam and the Floor Space Index (FSI) parking scam.

Corruption is generic in our country. The question is how to stop the increase in the level of corruption. If we are able to arrest its rise somewhat, it can be considered a success. But cases like Adarsh have hit us hard. Corruption has become systemized. The corrupt have become impudent. The 2G Spectrum scam is a reflection of this.

In most corruption cases, the investigating and law enforcement agencies have been managed. They have become amenable to being managed. I do not think there is anything wrong with the investigating agencies. It is the law enforcement agencies that have been corrupted. You need to have good people in the right places.

Stricter laws will not solve any problems. There is an attitudinal change, we are becoming more materialistic. I do not see any solution in sight. Maybe the death penalty would reduce corruption. Indians are religious. With corruption becoming ingrained in our culture, we feel that if we pray to God, we will be saved.

There are no laws that offer protection to whistleblowers or witnesses. All we have is a vague government circular on whistleblowers which does not offer witness protection. If there is no witness protection, who will dare to be a whistleblower? Witness protection needs to be incorporated into the proposed legislation.

At the core of corruption is confidence of getting away. Besides, there is very little fear of the law among the corrupt. That is because they have purchased that position for themselves. Protection is an inbuilt component in all contracts for purchase of postings. The Right to Information (RTI) Act has only emboldened corrupt officials. The protection from the ambit of the law that they get while purchasing the posting is

**The essential principle under the Constitution is that justice should not just be done, but be seen to be done.**

**L'affaire Adarsh: now the cops need catching**

the reason for their brazen disregard for the law. The RTI now offers open protection to the corrupt. Their blunt retort is, get the document and do what you want to do next. That is because of the protection that the official is assured of in the oral contract while purchasing the posting.

If you have tainted bureaucrats at the helm in law enforcement agencies, public confidence in them is dented. The essential principle under the Constitution is that justice should not just be done, but be seen to be done. If you have tainted people manning these agencies then whatever judgments they pass will be viewed with suspicion.

THE situation in the Maharashtra police has improved under Home Minister RR Patil. The scourge of corruption is more visible in departments manned by the IAS, be it Urban Development, Housing, SRA. It symbolizes the collapse of the rule of law.

The Police department is as corrupt as any other government department. It was least corrupt in the immediate post-Independence era. When I joined the IPS in 1985, the extent of corruption was less. After Chhagan Bhujbal took over as Home Minister in 1999, the corruption in the force rose. You can very well imagine the situation when a court has twice struck down appointments of two police chiefs in Maharashtra as illegal.

After 26/11 there was a hue and cry over the quality of some of the equipment such as bullet-proof jackets purchased by the department. There is an institutionalized cartel in the system of procurement. Crores of rupees are being allocated in the name of modernization. Lots of unwanted equipment is being purchased. There are two or three cartels who act as suppliers. They either quote themselves or bid for others or float other companies that ultimately bid for purchases. They have a very close understanding with those who

**In most corruption cases, the investigating and law enforcement agencies have been managed.**

place the orders. When the deal is struck, the price and quality hardly matter.

Rifle magazines were purchased. On delivery, it was found that they did not fit the weapon. A symbolic inquiry was ordered, nothing happened. A report on the purchase of the bullet-proof jackets pointed out that they were sub-standard. Yet the department went ahead and procured them. The senior officer who sanctioned the purchase ought to have been sacked.

The biggest blot on the police force was the 1991 fake stamp paper scam engineered by Abdul Karim Telgi. The police colluded with Telgi in allowing him to sell his fake stamp papers. It acted as his agents. But the subsequent clean-up witnessed the force taking action against its own men such as former Mumbai Police Commissioner Ranjeet S Sharma. The police had the guts to take action against its own men.

It is very easy for a junior officer who has just joined to fall prey and get corrupted. The so-called friends of the police cosy up to the junior officers with ideas for making a quick buck. It is usually a Sub-Inspector who acts as the link between businessmen running illegal businesses and the police officer. Since the number of IPS officers is low, any act committed by any officer anywhere in the state is easily noticed by the rest of the tribe.

Moreover, a corrupt officer will be more preoccupied with his ill-gotten wealth than with policing. It is not just one person who gets the money. Despite the Anti-Corruption Bureau and the Vigilance Commission, you cannot do much about it. The money trail goes right up to the top brass. If those below try to stop the flow of bribes, their career will be ruined. The easy way to cover up any allegation of corruption is to institute an inquiry which then goes on for years and people tend to forget about it.

In my first book, *Carnage by Angels*, I had fictionalized and shown how the Sub-Inspector or constable or so-called friends of the police lure young officers into corruption. My second book, *Vultures in Love*, was a thriller about corruption against the backdrop of the CBI, Income Tax and Customs departments.

I was invited to direct a feature film, *Kya Yahi Sach Hai*, based on my first book. It will be released next year but has already won an international award. g

*(As told to Prashant Hamine)*

# 'The younger generation must take on this evil'

*Justice Santosh Hegde is always in the news. He was appointed Karnataka's Lokayukta during the coalition government of the Janata Dal (Secular) and the Bharatiya Janata Party and will complete his term of office in August 2011. His campaign against corruption in high places include catching an MLA red-handed while receiving a bribe as well as booking the son of a powerful Minister of Cabinet rank for bribing a witness. He has probed a powerful lobby of illegal mining lords belonging to all political parties. A media-savvy watchdog, Justice Hegde periodically keeps newshounds posted on corrupt IAS, IPS and IFS officers of the state cadre, and has sought absolute power to prosecute all those he netted. When he was not given the power to prosecute he revolted and resigned from his post. The event made national headlines. BJP mentor LK Advani and party president Nitin Gadkari had to persuade him to rescind his decision.*

*The judge has an illustrious background. He is the son of Justice K Sadananda Hegde who was superseded by his fourth junior as CJI during the Congress government of Indira Gandhi. The senior Hegde resigned and joined politics through the Janata Party. He was later Speaker in Parliament. The young Santosh started his career as a legal practitioner. He was later elevated directly to the Supreme Court. A specialist in many fields in law, including Intellectual Property Rights, Justice Hegde also served as the Advocate General to the Government of Karnataka, a post for which he was handpicked by Chief Minister Ramakrishna Hegde.*

*As Lokayukta, he disclosed his property details on the website to set an example to both bureaucrats and politicians.*

*Justice Hegde has resorted to the principle of catching them young to tackle the menace of corruption. He has been visiting educational institutions and talking to youngsters about the malady in the system. He has so far visited 194 schools.*

*Excerpts from an interview by B Harishchandra and Venu Gopalan*

**gfiles:** *Will the Lokpal Bill see the light of day? And will it be successful?*

**Santosh Hegde:** Why not? The institution of ombudsman started in the Scandinavian countries as far back as 200 years. Those countries have taken four places among the top five corruption-free nations. But the selection of the Lokpal should be a transparent process. And there should be safeguards. The Lokpal should be selected by people who are not in the administration. In India, the Lokpal system was mooted 44 years ago. Still it has remained a dream!

**gfiles:** *You have the attention of the politicians, the people and the media as the most popular and powerful Lokayukta. Yet your percentage of success, according to your own admission, is not very encouraging. Will our politicians allow the Lokayukta to survive?*

**SH:** I admit the ratio of culprits caught is just .03 percent compared to three or four lakh government employees. But I am really satisfied with my officers regarding the cases of complaints. People are yet to come forward with information about the corrupt. We have trapped 300 cases in 2010. People have confidence in us. Will they allow the Lokayukta institution to be closed down?

**gfiles:** *How much is the Congress to blame for the sorry state of affairs vis-à-vis the high incidence of scams and the rise in corruption?*

**SH:** All the ruling parties are the same.

**gfiles:** *Don't you think everybody should be included in the ambit of investigation, be it the PM or the Chief Justice of India?*

**SH:** Everybody who is holding public office, even the judiciary.

**gfiles:** *What do you say to schoolchildren in your campaign against corruption?*

**SH:** I tell them that their elders have failed to fight corruption in society. We, the elders, have allowed this corruption to grow. All, including the rulers, administrators, journalists and even the judiciary, have failed. The society suffers from "greed over need". It is for the children and their children after them to set things right. I tell them they need to have a totally changed attitude, encouraging corruption is accepting corruption. Society should boycott the corrupt. This change in public perception is possible only by the children.

I am trying to explain to them what contentment is. Satisfaction by illegitimate wealth is temporary. Earning legitimately is contentment, which is permanent. I received a good reaction from the young minds. A good percentage of children have responded positively. I am relying on them.

**gfiles:** *Bribery has come to be accepted by society as a convenient way of getting things done at all levels. People have stopped complaining about it. Would the common man go all the way in backing social activists in their fight against corruption?*

**SH:** Unfortunately, no. The present-day generation has been suffering silently. Bribery is regarded by many as "speed money". Today, corruption is no longer a stigma. The corrupt are the most powerful. They are considered successful by society. So the younger generation must take on this evil. g

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## For the first time in many years, civil society is not acting cynical but baying for blood

FOR the first time in many years, we are seeing a strange spectacle: sacred cows being challenged, icons tumbling down, people talking openly about the rot in the higher echelons of power.

For the first time in many years, the media itself is in the media glare for violation of media ethics. The high priests of the print and electronic media are being openly questioned about their hobnobbing with the suspects.

For the first time in many years, the business magnates who wore a cloak of righteousness are running for cover. For the first time, the politicians and bureaucrats seem to be paying the price of their misdeeds.

I think this is the time we were waiting for. I think the time of the idea of cleaning the stables of corruption has come. Like the time for the right to information had come 10 years ago. We should not let this pass.

Corruption in India is a heinous crime in which there are multiple suspects: The politicians, the bureaucrats, the businessmen, the criminals and even the mediapersons. In fact, almost everybody. The only exception is the wider civil society. And therefore, it becomes the responsibility of the civil society to call the shots.

Fortunately, today people are talking of corruption. It is heartening to note that there are civil society voices in different parts of the country asking for effective action against the corrupt in government.

Corruption in India is mainly a consequence of the nexus between the bureaucracy, politics, business and criminals. At one time, bribes were paid for getting wrong things done. Now bribes are paid for getting right things done at the right time.

Curiously, corruption in India leads to promotion and profits, not prison. We have seen instances of corrupt persons flourishing. As the nation grows, the corrupt also grow to invent new methods of cheating the government and public.

One of the reasons for the increasing incidents of corruption as seen in the number of scams and scandals is the emergence of a political elite who believe in interest-oriented rather than nation-oriented programmes and policies.

Corruption is caused as well as increased because of the change in the value system and ethical qualities of men who administer. The old ideals of morality, service and honesty are regarded as anachronistic.The tolerance of people towards corruption, complete lack of intense public outcry against corruption and the absence of strong public fora to oppose corruption also encourage corrupt people.

Complex laws and procedures deter common people from seeking any help from the government. Big industrialists fund politicians to meet the high cost of elections and ultimately to seek personal favour.

The role of the politician should be minimized. A desirable course of action could be a separation of responsibility and authority between the political executive and the permanent civil service. This would help in fixing accountability of both.

Responsiveness, accountability and transparency are a must for a clean system. Bureaucracy, the backbone of good governance, should be made more citizenfriendly, accountable, ethical and transparent.

It may not be possible to root out corruption completely at

**Curiously, corruption in India leads to promotion and profits, not prison. We have seen instances of corrupt persons flourishing.**

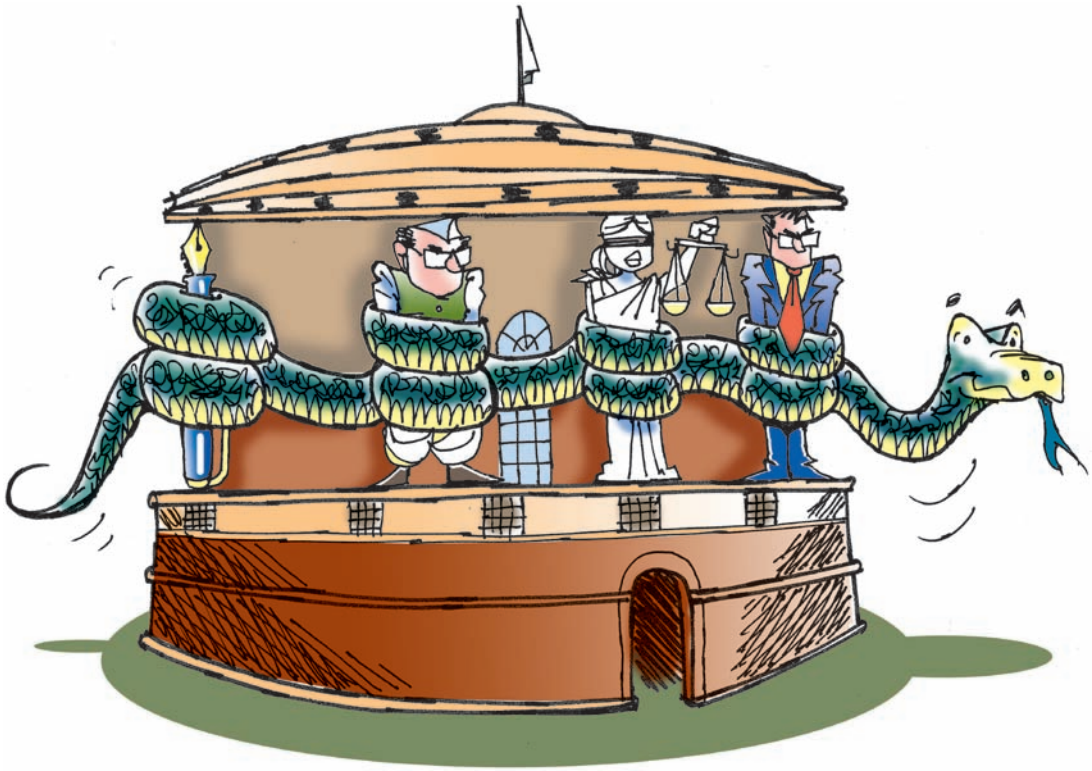

ILLUSTRATION: ARUNA

all levels but it is possible to contain it within tolerable limits. Honest and dedicated persons in public life and control over electoral expenses could be the most important prescriptions to combat corruption.

AGAINST this backdrop, the IC Centre for Governance decided to hold a seminar on the structures of existing institutions dealing with corrupt practices. The idea was to gather a critical mass of public opinion to force the political leadership to sit up and listen to it.

The title of the seminar was "How Effective Are Our Anti-Corruption Agencies and the Way Forward". It was attended by representatives of several non-governmental organizations, social activists, mediapersons and eminent persons associated with the Central Bureau of Investigation, the Central Vigilance Commission and the Lokayukta.

The seminar, organized by the IC Centre for Governance in collaboration with the India International Centre on December 9, 2010, was the first in a series of interactions to collectively think about and delineate a course of action. It is proposed to be followed by a series of lectures on the subject of freeing India from corruption. The Centre will also carry articles on the subject in the *Journal of Governance*.

**It may not be possible to root out corruption completely at all levels but it is possible to contain it within tolerable limits.**

The forenoon sessions of the seminar were devoted to discussing the limitations and deficiencies of these agencies and identifying areas of possible reform. In the afternoon sessions, comprehensive efforts to cleanse the system were deliberated.

It was resolved to look beyond the existing organizations, which have proved utterly ineffective in reducing corruption in various transactions, and conjure a new paradigm of systemic solution. In this context, the experience of states like South Korea, Indonesia, Hong Kong and New South Wales was particularly recounted.

The Seminar felt that foolproof laws should be made so that there is no room for discretion for politicians and bureaucrats. Therefore, after long deliberations, it was decided to suggest new legislation for constituting an Indian Commission Against Corruption for consideration by civil society.

It was also resolved to launch a multipronged initiative with a view to enlisting the youth, spreading awareness, engaging policymakers and opinionmakers and assisting in developing a critical mass of public opinion to get the legislation passed by Parliament expeditiously. g

*The author is a former Cabinet Secretary*

# Is there a way out?

## High-level group proposes solutions

by **Kallol Dey**

THE seminar, "How Effective Are Our Anti-Corruption Agencies and the Way Forward", organized by the IC Centre for Governance on the occasion of World Anti-Corruption Day, had a distinguished panel including former Chief Justices, retired judges of High Courts, former bureaucrats and social activists like Swami Agnivesh. During the day-long deliberation on the ambitious alternative Lokpal Bill, drawn extensively from the Karnataka Lokayukta Act and inspired by the Hong Kong model of the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), it became evident that the anti-corruption movement is growing from strength to strength and the government will have to reckon with stalwarts if sweeping changes are not effected.

RTI activist Arvind Kejriwal as also other panelists were confident that the ICAC could do for India what it did to deliver Hong Kong from the grip of extreme corruption. The Karnataka Lokayukta, Justice Santosh Hegde, who addressed a session, though, felt that we should not be too hasty in running down the elected representatives and the democracy so characteristic of India. The Indian style of democracy is still the best cure for Indians, he asserted, but agreed that there should be a unified system under the government of India which incorporates the features of all the agencies.

The most effective way of fighting graft or misconduct in the government is through departmental proceedings, the Lokayukta advocated, but rued that departmental proceedings, which are better than criminal proceedings, have become completely dysfunctional in the country.

Interesting suggestions were put forth in the course of analysing the provisions of the Lokpal Bill proposed by civil societies.

Kejriwal felt that investigations should be made public. In many of the cases, transparency would strengthen rather

## Salient Features of the Lokpal Bill

**1.** There shall be an institution of Lokpal with 10 members and headed by a chairperson.

**2.** That part of the CBI which deals with cases of corruption shall be merged with the Lokpal.

**3.** The CVC and the entire internal vigilance set in various Central government departments will be merged with it.

**4.** The Lokpal will be independent of the government.

**5.** The Lokpal shall have jurisdiction over bureaucrats, politicians and judges.

**6.** The Lokpal shall have the powers to initiate investigations and prosecution without needing permission from any other agency.

**7.** Public grievances are often linked to demands/expectations of bribery. The Lokpal shall act as appellate authority and supervisory body for grievance redressal systems in all Central government departments.

**8.** The Lokpal shall be responsible for providing protection against physical and professional victimization of whistleblowers.

**9.** Members and chairperson in the Lokpal shall be selected through a transparent and participatory process.

**10.** The functioning of the Lokpal shall be completely transparent to avoid it becoming a hub of corruption.

**11.** Any complaint of wrongdoing against an official of the Lokpal shall be investigated and acted upon within a month through a transparent inquiry process.

**12.** If charges are proved and conviction takes place, loss to the exchequer caused due to his wrongdoing shall be recovered from all those who are convicted.

## Comparison of IC Centre's draft Lokpal Bill with the one presented by the Central government in the Lok Sabha earlier

| Subject | Government's Draft | Lokpal Draft | Justification |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jurisdiction over politicians, bureaucrats and judiciary | CVC to have jurisdiction over bureaucrats, Lokpal to have jurisdiction over politicians. Law silent on judiciary | Gives jurisdiction over politicians, bureaucrats and judiciary to Lokpal | Politicians and bureaucrats do not indulge in corruption separately. So, if both CVC and Lokpal inquire into any case, it will lead to a lot of confusion (as records related to any case would be with one agency & the other would find it difficult to investigate the same case). It will lead to duplication of efforts. If the findings of the two agencies are different in any case, it would be a severe blow to the success of that case in the courts |
| Powers of Lokpal | Lokpal to be an advisory body | Lokpal to have complete powers to initiate investigations and prosecution in any case without needing anyone's permission | Advisory role will make Lokpal toothless and ineffective like CVC. If Lokpal is advisory and if after investigations, it advises PM to prosecute a guilty minister, we do not believe that with the kind of coalition governments, any PM of the day will ever have the courage to initiate prosecution against his own ministers |
| Whistleblower protection | The government recently introduced a Bill for the protection of whistleblowers. It gives responsibility of providing protection to CVC | Lokpal to provide protection to whistleblowers against professional and physical victimization | CVC neither has powers nor resources to provide protection to whistleblowers. All cases of murders of whistleblowers in the last five years are outside the jurisdiction of the bill proposed by the government |
| Selection and appointment of Lokpal | Selection to be made by a Committee consisting primarily of politicians from ruling and opposition parties | Selection shall be done by a committee consisting of apolitical persons | The process of selection should be out of the control of political parties. Both opposition and ruling party would not be interested in having strong and independent Lokpal as both of them are interested parties |
| Internal transparency and accountability of Lokpal | Silent on this Issue | Lokpal's functioning to be transparent. Complaint against any employee of Lokpal shall be investigated and acted upon within a month and he/she shall be summarily repatriated or dismissed if found guilty | |
| Recovery of loss caused to the government due to corruption | Does not talk about it. There is no provision in any other law about recovery of loss caused to the government | Trial court to make an estimate of such loss and order its recovery from all convicted | |

Courtesy: IC Centre for Governance

## The Hong Kong Model

PRIOR to 1974, Hong Kong was one of the most corrupt cities in the world. People were fed up of corruption and the pent-up rage burst out in 1973 when an expatriate Hong Kong police officer, Peter Fitzroy Godber, escaped trial. People took to the streets in protests and eventually, acting under pressure, the authorities decided to set up a body independent of the police force to tackle corruption. The Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) was established in February 1974. The ICAC's first important task was to bring Godber to justice. In early 1975, Godber was extradited from England to stand trial. The charges were a conspiracy offence and one of accepting bribes. Godber was found guilty on both counts and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Godber's extradition and prosecution were an unmistakeable statement of ICAC's determination and resolve to eradicate corruption. It was this landmark case that kicked off a new start against corruption and the beginning of a quiet revolution. Since its inception, the Commission has been committed to fighting corruption using a three-pronged approach of law enforcement, prevention and education. The ICAC was given powers of arrest, detention and granting bail.

Initial experiences were not very pleasant as the tactics and methods of the ICAC officers were often crude and aggressive. But ultimately, their shock tactics were effective and worked as a deterrent to corruption. Hong Kong was transformed from a graft-ridden city into one of the cleanest places in the world, as recognised by international institutions such as the World Bank, the Heritage Foundation and Transparency International. The ICAC also ensures that public elections are conducted fairly, openly and honestly, and are free from corrupt and illegal conduct.

The success of ICAC in Hong Kong saw it being adopted in New South Wales (Australia), then Indonesia and South Korea. In all the places, ICAC worked as an effective deterrent to corruption.

RAJEEV TYAGI

**Swami Agnivesh (right) at the conference: demanding accountability**

**The seminar thoroughly examined the growing corruption in the judicial system with many veterans launching scathing attacks.**

than impede investigation. Transparency during investigation and post-investigation should be the norm rather than an exception, the RTI activist categorically said.

The house was also in agreement that the corrupt should be made to pay for the loss to the exchequer and his property ceased when he is convicted.

Overall, the crux of the deliberations was that the Lokpal should be made constitutional and empowered to tackle corruption effectively.

Who will judge the judges?

The anti-corruption brigade has no intention to allow the judiciary its exclusive club and stands firm on the view that the judiciary should be made accountable. The seminar thoroughly examined the growing corruption in the judiciary system with many veterans launching scathing attacks on the present judiciary.

Former Supreme Court advocate Prashant Bhushan terms "utterly bogus and absurd" the notion that judicial independence will be compromised if the judiciary is made accountable to an outside body.

"Judicial independence means independence from the government and not from accountability," he asserts. "It is wrong to think that nobody other than judges can decide objectively and properly whether a judge has committed misconduct."

Highlighting the corruption in the judiciary, Bhushan related that though there has been an in-house body for judges informally for the past 15 years, most complaints have not been heeded as Chief Justices refused to act against the ones they favour.

"Judiciary has to be made accountable to a body which is independent of the government but also of the judiciary. As Lokpal will be accountable to the judiciary, a separate body can be formed but corruption within the judiciary has to be checked," said Bhushan. g

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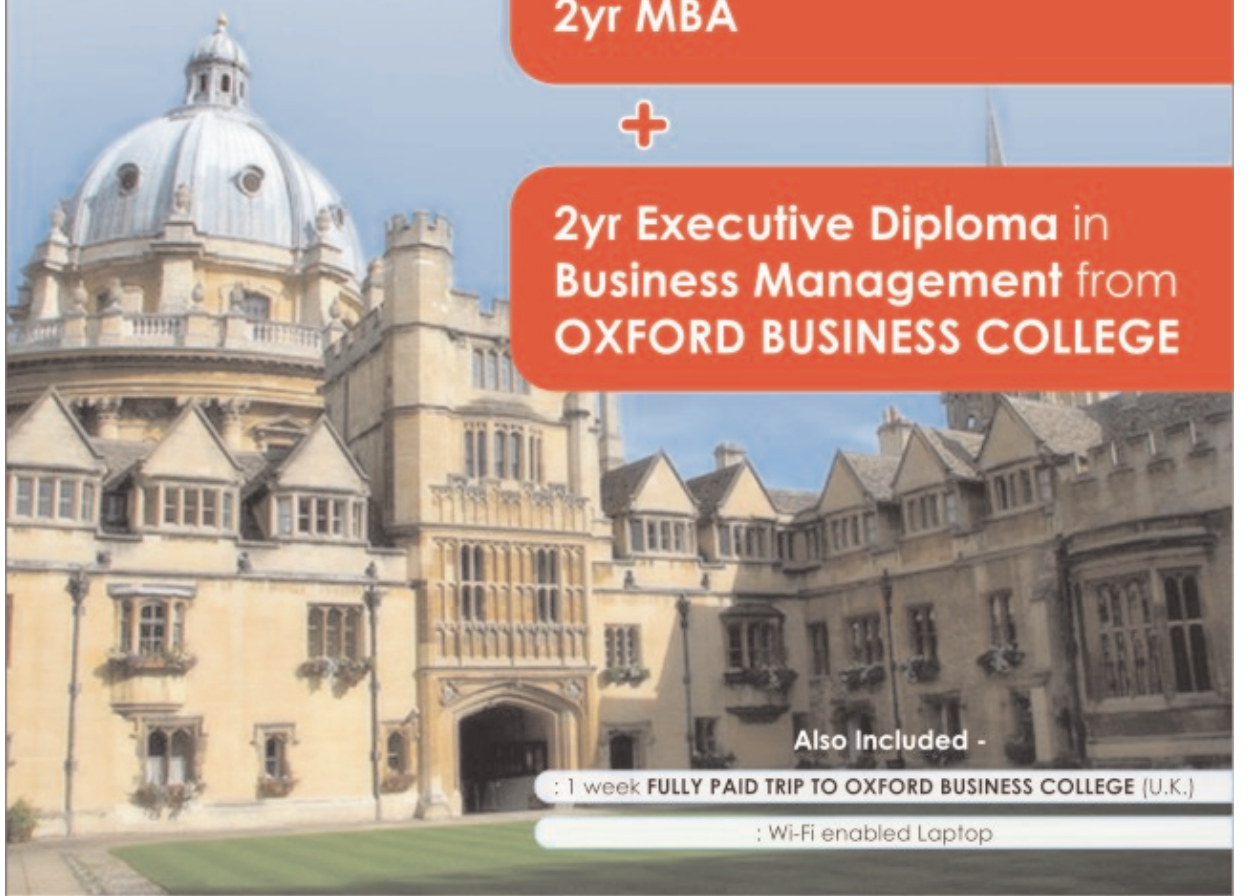

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**Feb 2011-2013 Session**

# SOME BASIC RULES TO ENFORCE INTEGRITY

## Sooner rather than later, India must change from an "under the counter" influence society to an above board affluent one

**By Anil Chopra**

WITH the fast pace of the global network, India must change from "under the counter" influence society to an above board affluent one.

A snap poll conducted at the opening session of the World Economic Forum on January 27, 2009, highlighted a deepening crisis also of ethical values that calls for more honesty, transparency and respect for others.

I have worked in business. As employees, we are guided by profit, growth and excellence. Excellence includes management of business ethics. We should endeavour to be agents of truth rather than agents of power. We must create internal processes that reinforce confidence and security.

A crucial lever is the board of directors and the senior leadership team. Their accountability could be focused by carrying forward values, integrity standards and authoring the organization's voluntary code of integrity principles and business values.

For example, an Indian MNC code states: "No employee may offer, give or receive any gift of payment which is, or may be construed as being, a bribe. Any demand for, or offer of, a bribe must be rejected immediately and reported to management."

But here's a paradox to ponder: In mid-November 2010, a leading financial newspaper reported that two promoters of a listed company on the Mumbai Stock Exchange were fined for insider trading and the regulator imposed a Rs 2 crore penalty, the biggest this year. Subsequently, this company was featured in the same newspaper as a part of the National Conference on Integrity, after having made a presentation on enforcement agencies, media and corruption, and the Central Vigilance Commission's National Anti-Corruption strategy paper!

*The following basic points could be a starting point for ethical reform:*

- HR departments must be a catalyst in human involvement for reinforcing acceptable behaviour in action and in dialogue with the community.
- The CEO, as the Principal Ethics Officer of the company, should appoint Governance Counsellors from within the organization to play this additional role. The counsellors, spread out within the company, would investigate, list key findings, flag root causes. In case of violation of the code, the company's management needs to act in consonance with the severity and reputational damage to the organization.
- Beyond the fact of what a company's code says, the real question is what the practice in reality is – does the company enforce its own policy or is the policy mere corporate wallpaper?
- Business organizations may go beyond innumerable issues built on our laws and encourage better practices through voluntary adoption.
- The private and public sectors plus industry associations and the government should share best practices information to ease the tensions on the work platform. Transparency International has already signed Integrity Pacts related to tendering and purchase processes with some public sector companies. This should become a wider practice in order to ensure credibility.
- In the area of the judicial system's ineffectiveness, there is a need to activate the Central Vigilance Commission, which after 13 years of statutory powers is unable to rein in a rash of scams.
- Civil servants need to be sensitive for promoting citizens' participation in governance. Finally, like the former Indian Civil Service officers, we need a body of men and women who are upright, aloof, who use power not for selfish ends but as they think is right. g

*The author is a consultant to Enterprise, Governance & Business Ethics, a Mumbai-based forum*

# HARYANA Towards new horizon !!!

*Haryana has emerged as the front runner State of the country in the area of all round development. The priorities of the State Government are ensuring sound infrastructure coupled with a vibrating social sector. We are committed to make Haryana an educational hub, create more avenues of employment by accelerating industrialisation, besides stepping up agricultural production. Adequate and improved health facilities for all will be our top concern. We will also focus on uniform development of the State.*

***Bhupinder Singh Hooda***
*Chief Minister, Haryana*

## *Salient Features:*

The State Government has constituted a State Farmers' Commission for taking up the concerns of the farmers and finding solutions to their problems.

Year 2010 is being celebrated as 'Energy Year'. A Nuclear Power Plant of 2800 MW would be set up in Fatehabad. The State Government is striving to ensure that Haryana becomes self-sufficient in the matter of power generation by the year 2012-13.

Rajiv Gandhi Education City is being set up in Kundli in district Sonepat and 25 percent of the seats would be reserved for domiciles of Haryana. A reservation of 30 percent has been made for girls in Industrial Training Institutions.

With a view to control the excess tapping of underground water and to ensure participation of each category, Haryana Government is going to launch Underground Water Development Regulation and Control Bill soon.

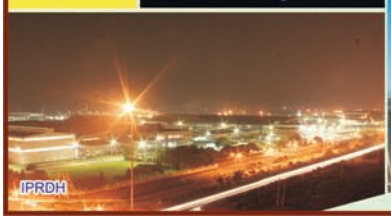
Indira Bal Swasthya Yojna implemented to improve the health of all students by providing preventive and curative healthcare.

Social, economic and educational development of women top priority of the State Government.

'Shagun' grant money being provided to families belonging to Scheduled Castes living below the poverty line for the marriage of their daughters and to widows belonging to all sections of society for their own re-marriage as well as for the marriage of their daughters increased from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 31,000.

Free medicines being provided to all patients including outdoor and casualty patients, ante-natal services, delivery and caesarean-section cases in all Government Health Institutions.

Residential plots of 100 sq. yards each being provided free of cost to 6.5 lakh eligible families belonging to Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes and other weaker sections living below poverty line under the **'Mahatama Gandhi Gramin Basti Yojna'**.



IPRDH

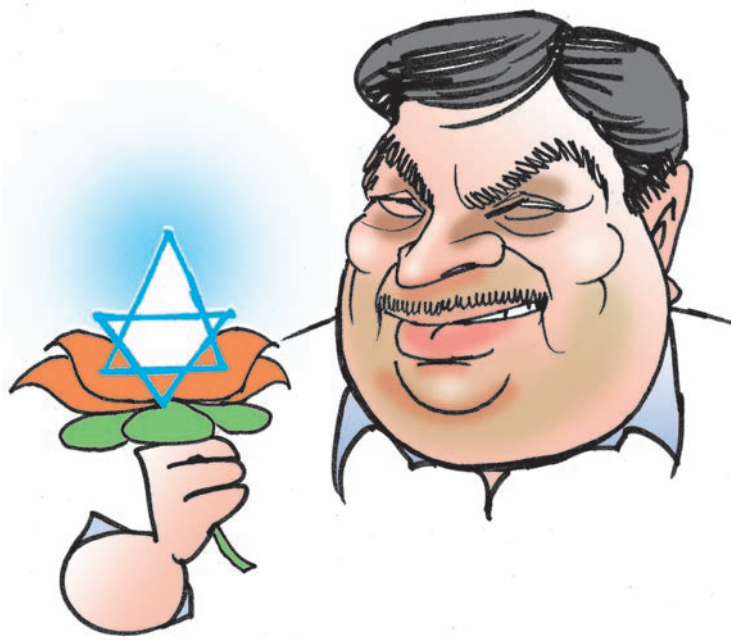
***HARYANA... in the forefront ...***

# Gadkari's Israeli sojourn

## bjp wants to send ministers

ISRAEL is perhaps the lone country with a knack for getting a whiff in advance of which direction the polity of India will turn. BJP president Nitin Gadkari and 10 other top party leaders were invited to see firsthand the management and modernization of agriculture in Israel. Gadkari accepted and went to Tel Aviv along with his top leadership to see the impressive Israeli agriculture mechanization.

Before departure, Gadkari did his homework and was armed with substantial information about Indian agriculture. Israel accorded a lavish reception to the Indian delegation. The group met Deputy Prime Minister Dan Meridor and were welcomed in the Parliament of Israel with applause. Gadkari and his whole team are so impressed with the Israeli model of agriculture management that the BJP is now toying with the idea of sending the Agriculture Ministers of states ruled by the party on similar trips to Israel.



# AICC's brain wave

## charges for plenary session passes

THE Congress party held its 83rd plenary session in New Delhi with much fanfare. There is a tradition in the party that the leaders who are not MPs or MLAs or do not hold any post within the party are given passes to attend the session as Special Invitees. AICC Members, Distinguished Guests, Special Invitees, Visitors are the categories in which the respective leaders are divided.

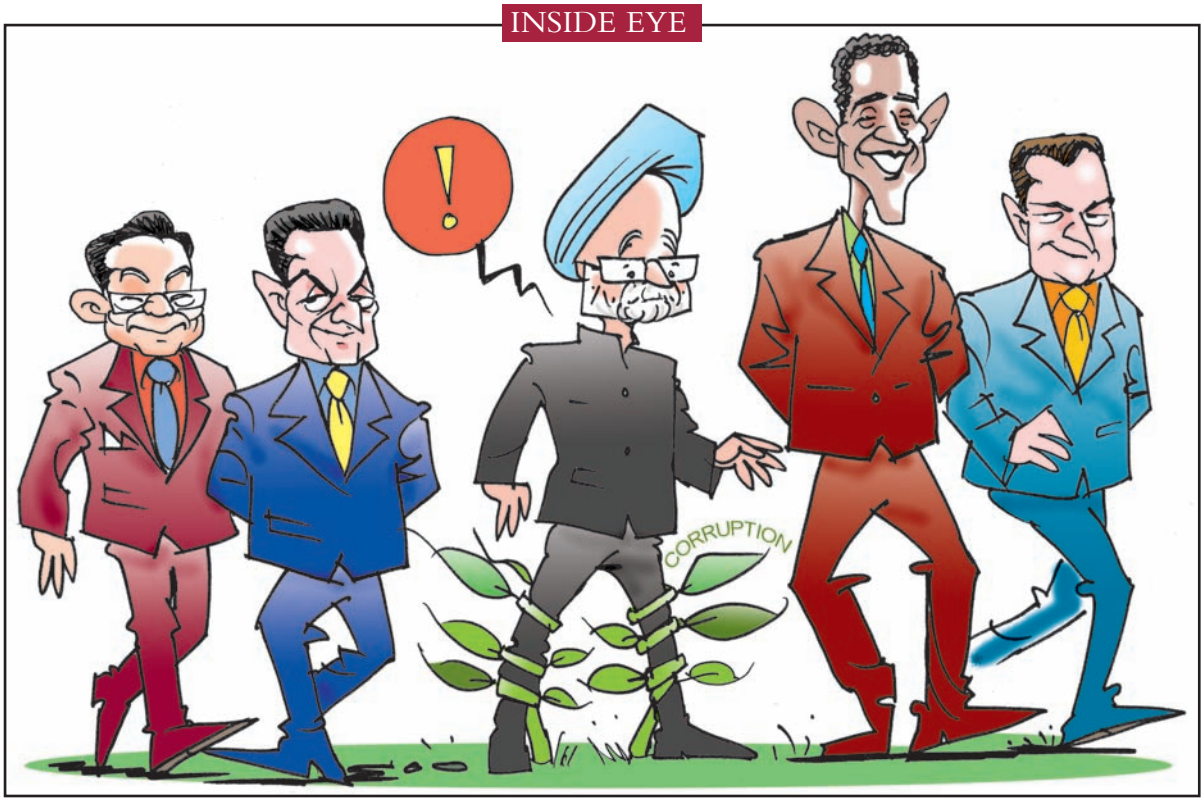
This time, the party bosses came up with an innovative idea. Special Invitees had to pay Rs 325 each for a pass. The loyal party workers were surprised at such a move which was unthinkable for many of them. No receipts were issued; the Congressman had to sign on a plain sheet of paper kept for the purpose and get the pass. One party worker, while signing, quipped, "Good this has started, now one feels one is going to attend a corporate conclave by a big corporate house rather than a party session."

# Jinxed house

## raja bungalow has dubious record

A Raja, the controversial former telecommunications Minister, lives at 2A, Moti Lal Nehru Marg. The house, located opposite Udyog Bhawan, is the type of bungalow usual in Lutyens' Delhi but it has seen a string of VVIPS and some people think it's jinxed. In the early 1980s, the bungalow was allotted to Rajiv Gandhi. He never actually lived there but used it to meet people. After Mrs Gandhi's death in 1984, Rajiv became Prime Minister and shifted to 7, Race Course Road. When Amitabh Bachchan was looking for a house as an MP, he liked the bungalow's location and moved in.

After Bachchan's unceremonious exit, former Minister for External Affairs Madhav Singh Solanki became the next occupant. Solanki was a sincere and




ILLUSTRATIONS: ARUNA

suave man but he also became entangled in a controversy and Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao had to remove him. The house then remained deserted for long. Raja occupied it, became Minister, got involved in scandals and lost his post. Is the jinx responsible?

## Congress' mixed bag
### bad food, savvy media handling

THE Congress' plenary sessions are best remembered for the excellent food served. But, at the last session, the culinary fare failed to live up to the expectations. Delhi Congress Chief Jai Prakash Agarwal and Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit were the hosts but both left Congress workers disappointed albeit *sotto voce*. However, mediapersons are not bound by party loyalty and loudly complained that the food was unpalatable and, at times, even half-cooked. Some did not touch it. The food in-charge was Mangat Ram Singhal, a seasoned Congress leader. He was nowhere to be seen.

In sharp contrast was the impeccable media management by the party bosses. The top leaders regularly emerged to brief and debrief the media, especially the electronic media. Agarwal worked zealously, not losing any opportunity to garland Sonia Gandhi and Manmohan Singh. Even Congressmen were taken aback to see Agarwal stopping Rahul Gandhi after his speech to garland him and drape a shawl — all unscheduled.

The party's media managers rounded off the plenary session with a cocktail party in Ashoka Hotel at which the regular entourage of mediapersons who covered the session were in attendance to hear paeans of praise to Sonia, Rahul and Manmohan. g

# DRIP... DRIP... DRIP...

## Do we need such leaks? Yes. Not one but hundreds

THE US government can do no wrong...because it is the US government! But if it goes wrong, it cannot be questioned... because the boss is always right! So, if the global boss (as the US government perceives itself) goes wrong, who is WikiLeaks to leak like a child who hasn't peed for ages?

Diplomatic cables are not overhead lines. They are dip-low-mat-ic lines. They are supposed to be underground cables. And that is the way they are supposed to stay. Nobody has any right to dig them up and bring them overground. They are not supposed to surface. The world is not supposed to know that they exist.

So, who is WikiLeaks to do that? Since WikiLeaks was born, it has been leaking like a child without warning. And, most of the time, its leaks have been untimely and embarrassing.

The US spends stacks of dollars on its propaganda machinery. It certainly cannot afford free publicity. The US is a celebrity nation and a celebrity has no private life. It is open to scrutiny by one and all – especially the paparazzi – even if the paparazzi come in the form of WikiLeaks. The damage has already been done – to the nations finding mention in the US diplomatic cables. And the entire US government is in damage control mode – not for other nations but for itself.

Right from the Secretary of State to petty officers, everybody is cautioning US government officials: "WikiLeaks has revealed what it should not have...so it is a sexual offence! Don't look at it...don't read anything...it is pure pornography!"

The US is an icon of democracy. In democracy, there is no room for transparency. Everything has to be a closely guarded secret. That is why secrets are stored away in the dark recesses of safe cable storage systems. The very institution of democracy depends on secrecy.

Besides, what the US government does is nobody's business. After all, who is paying for all that? The US citizens, is it not? And, they are always with the US government – no matter what it does. So, no other nation needs to bother about all this because nobody is paying for it. This is the greatest charity project by the American people.

It is not the leak that the US government is concerned about. Today, all nations know their own weaknesses and the US can no longer use those weaknesses to push its subversive policies.

Whatever anyone says, one thing is for sure: WikiLeaks has changed the shape and colour of journalism forever.

Nobody knows where World War III will originate or when. But World War I of cyberspace is on. The US government may get friendly nations to charge the founder of WikiLeaks with whatever it likes and get American companies to withdraw their support to WikiLeaks. The US empire may strike back at WikiLeaks but the breed of "hactivists" this entire episode has generated is bound to strike again on behalf of WikiLeaks. At the receiving end could be anybody – from credit card companies to attorneys who represent US government interests to politicians and government sites.

In all this, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is red-faced. It is still wondering how WikiLeaks sneaked into cable territory.

Do we need WikiLeaks? Yes! Hundreds of them. Transparency is the touchstone of good governance. There is no place for secrecy in democracy. And it is only agencies like WikiLeaks that can ensure no government keeps its dark secrets to itself. Only transparency can offer a firm foundation for democracy. Hail to thee, blithe spirit of WikiLeaks!

And thank you, WikiLeaks, for the free service done to so many nations of the world. g

**The US empire may strike back at WikiLeaks, but the breed of 'hactivists' this entire episode has generated is bound to strike again on behalf of WikiLeaks.**

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**AMERICA'S DOUBLE AGENDA**

After the euphoria surrounding Obama's visit doubts surface about Uncle Sam's embrace

**WHAT'S IN IT FOR INDIA?**
**WHY IS THE US SOFT ON PAKISTAN?**

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**From the Editor-in-Chief**

WE end this year in the belief that the events that have transpired during its course have proven without a doubt that the kind of independent niche journalism that gfiles practises is more relevant to the profession of disseminating informed news and opinion than ever before. Our basic premise of good governance has been that political parties – as the Congress once was – should be organized to be of service to the nation. But when, instead, they convolute this command and subordinate the nation to serving their interests, they t... harbingers of banana republics in which g...ernance is of, for, and by the governors.

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## Wooing 300 m Indians, 900 m be damned

**The President furthered the agenda, started by Bush, of building ties with the Indian middle class for US gain**

**by MG DEVASAHAYAM**

DISSECTING US Presid...t Barack O...ma's Diwali visit I...d... Chin...ya R Gharekhan ...s to ...y: "...ar... no doubt c...e to India with a fi... ag...da ...ir... H...main ...get audience was youth and

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## Another tilt to Pakistan

**Obama's Indian visit cannot mas... the U...ont...ued reliance on Pakistan as its ...dispe...ab...t... egi...ally in the region for achieving ...al ...ati...al Qaeda**

**by GEORGE FRIEDMAN**

BOB Woodward has released another book, this one on the debate over Afghanistan strategy in the Obama administration. As all his books do, the book has riveted Washington. It reveals that intense debate occurred over what course to take, that the President sought

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**p...iti... p...ties | congr... | t...r...ue...on | a...vagi**

## The lessons are clear: change or perish

**Is Sonia Gandhi's party living i... the glorious past**

**...AY...AN**

...CTING on the Indian National Congres... prepares to mark the 125th anniversary of its founding, a Rolls-Royce joke comes to mind. A wealthy man bought a Rolls- Royce and drove it away from the showroom. After 10 km, the car stalled. He summoned the engineers. After inspecting the car, they said, "Sorry, sir, there is no ...ne." Amazed, he as...d, "Then how did it run this

...ea... Mor...

**NATIONAL SECURITY**
**bungling leadership**

## Seven b...ers ...di...

**The squandering of hard-won military v...es, good faith bordering on naivete, and political compulsions have enfeebled India**

**by MAJOR GENERAL MRINAL SUMAN**

HISTORICAL mistakes, because they cannot be undone, have a complex snowballing effect on a nation's future. The following historical blunders, recounted chronologically, changed the course of independent India's history and cast a shadow over its future. Instances of the inadequacy of India's decision-making apparatus and the leadership's lack of vision, they will haunt India for generations.

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**One more instance of squandering public funds on an unproductive activity**

**by VINOD KAPOOR**

THE Rajya Sabha, perhaps emboldened by the Lower House starting its own television channel in 2006, has reportedly given final shape to its long-proposed plan to have an exclusive channel similar in content, reach and purpose to the Lok Sabha one. In itself, this is not unusual. Legislatures in the UK, US and Australia are covered regularly. The problem, in the Indian context, is with each House of Parliament having its own dedicated channel.

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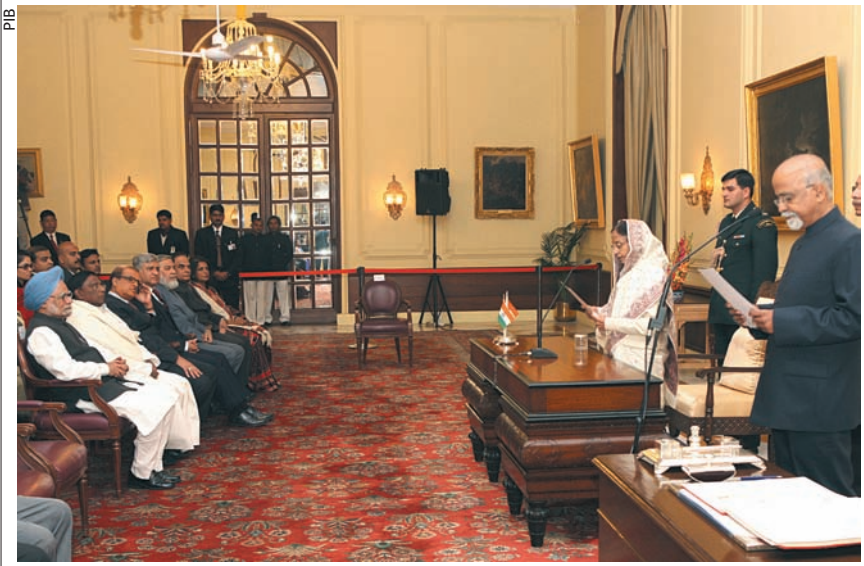

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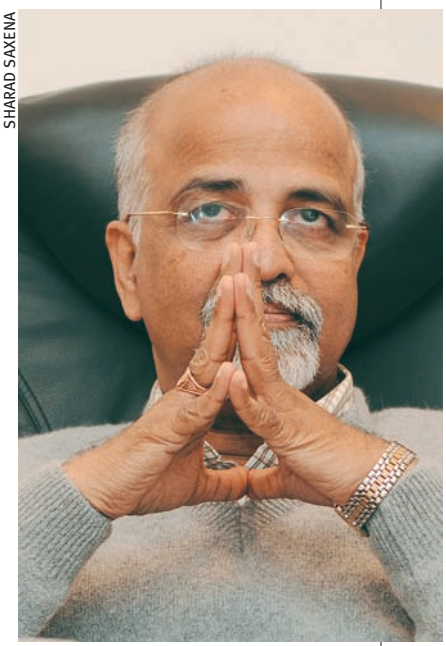

# Mishra takes over as CIC

## Information Commissioner is elevated

**Mishra being sworn in by President Patil: urban planning to information**

A 1973-batch IAS officer belonging to the Madhya Pradesh cadre, Satyananda Mishra, 61, has been handed charge of the office of the Chief Information Commissioner of India. He served as Establishment Officer and special secretary in the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT) before being elevated as Secretary, DoPT, in January 2007. Prior to this appointment, he was the seniormost Information Commissioner.

Mishra began his career as a probationary officer in the State Bank of India before joining the IAS. He served the Madhya Pradesh government in various capacities for 10 years. He then spent seven years in the State and Central governments in the Department of Culture, holding posts such as Secretary of the Department of Culture, Madhya Pradesh, Managing Director of the Madhya Pradesh Film Development Corporation, Secretary of the Bharat Bhawan Trust, and Joint Secretary in the Department of Culture, Government of India.

He also handled responsibilities spanning the entire gamut of urban planning and provision of infrastructure as Chairman of the Special Area Development Authority, Korba (MP), Housing Commissioner, Madhya Pradesh Housing Board, Principal Secretary to the Department of Housing and Environment, Public Health Engineering and Public Works.

Belonging to Orissa, Mishra is affable and soft-spoken, and a bureaucrat with a clean record. An MA in English from Utkal University, he also has an MPhil in public administration and MSc in Policy Planning for Developing Countries from the London School of Economics. g

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# 'You must have the sensitivity'

## Excerpts from the PM's address to probationers

PIB

**Call to serve: PM with the 2009 batch**

"WHEN I talk about unity and integrity of our country, we have to reckon with the fact that law and order maintenance is a prime requisite for even sustaining a reasonable pace of development. And without law and order there will be a question mark on the cohesiveness of our nation....While India lives in States and the problems are often not the same from one State to another, in dealing with those problems, we must not lose sight of the fact that India is one large common market."

◆◆◆

"So the first and foremost responsibility of public servants in any part of our country must be to preserve communal harmony. And we must make every effort that anti-social elements do not exploit the situation to promote and nurture their evil designs."

◆◆◆

"It is the responsibility of the law-enforcing authorities to pay special attention to protect the vulnerable sections of our society, be they people belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, be they minorities, be they people belonging to other under-privileged castes. We must make a good study of the social and economic aspirations of people belonging to vulnerable sections of society."

◆◆◆

"Your role is crucial to ensure that in processes of development, atrocities on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other vulnerable sections are not allowed to get out of hand."

◆◆◆

"Naxalite violence is yet another problem and Naxalism today afflicts the Central India parts where the bulk of India's mineral wealth lies and if we don't control Naxalism we have to say goodbye to our country's ambitions to sustain growth rate of 10-11% per annum as we all need and as we all aspire that that is the only way that we can rid of chronic poverty, ignorance and disease that still afflict millions and millions of our citizens. So, the tribal areas are today in the grip of Naxalite menace. What causes this disaffection, why some elements of the tribal societies take to that path, they become an easy prey to the Naxalite propaganda, I think there are social and economic causes which are at the roots of this disaffection. And we have to handle this problem both as a law and order problem as also a development problem. And therefore it is very important that if you want various strategies to deal with this menace, you must have the sensitivity to recognize the social and economic roots of disaffection among tribal societies."

◆◆◆

"These are some of the concerns that I have. So, to repeat, terrorism, Naxalism, communalism, management of law of metropolitan cities, they have thrown up immense challenges to law and order machinery in all parts of our country. Questions are the same everywhere, answers must be location-specific." g

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# Look to infrastructure, capital goods and IT

THE year 2010 has been a really good year for the markets despite a series of scams and concern over issues relating to political and corporate governance as well as transparency in the functioning of the stock markets, which saw the year close with the markets witnessing a lot of volatility. The year 2011 is likely to be far more turbulent with mounting political uncertainty as a fallout of what happened in 2010. This is going to be reflected in the markets which are likely to witness a lot of volatility and downward pressure on valuations with rising concern over slowing down of reforms, rising fiscal deficit, food prices and interest rates.

The year 2011 may therefore not be a good one for weak-hearted investors though those smart enough to follow closely the news impacting the markets and take quick calls may end up making good money. Though the GDP estimates suggest that the economy is improving and the corporate sector too has shown improved performance as indicated by the advance tax data, experts say that companies have started facing margin pressures which could lead to deceleration in earnings growth.

The fact being that valuations can by no means be considered reasonable, investors are advised to be abundantly cautious. However, sharp corrections in individual stocks can always be used to gain exposure in them as witnessed recently in the case of a number of mid cap stocks. But be careful about the quality of management which should remain the single most important parameter for stock selection.

There are more reasons to be cautious with the FII activity slowing a bit and oil prices reaching a two-year high of around $90 per barrel. The credit deposit ratio of all scheduled commercial banks have risen to painful levels where the banks have been not only compelled to offer higher deposit rates but have also been forced to increase lending rates to protect their margins.

Relatively high valuations and margin concerns have started impacting the asset allocation strategy of major institutional investors for the year 2011. Yet, any correction is unlikely to be deep enough to cause ripples in the investment world due to the high growth promised by the Indian economy and a reasonably good rate of growth likely to be churned out by the Indian corporate sector. There is ample money stashed on the sidelines to take advantage of any sharp correction, which may be enough to limit the downside.

The sectors that look promising in the New Year include infrastructure, mainly due to the fact that it is yet to participate in the rally and has grossly underperformed. The infrastructure-related sectors such as cement can again come into prominence. Other sectors to bet on are capital goods and IT – one due to the rising economic growth momentum, improving domestic demand prospects and growing capacity utilization since FY09, and the other due to the increased business opportunities and improved margins. Investors should pare down exposure in sectors such as auto and banking that have already run up a lot and have started looking more risky. The margins in both the sectors are under pressure and may see contraction.

**The year 2011 may not be a good one for weak-hearted investors though those smart enough to take quick calls may end up making good money.**

## Diamond Power Infrastructure Ltd

### (CMP Rs 197)

THE company is an integrated player in the power transmission and distribution business with captive facilities to manufacture conductors, cables, transmission towers and transformers. The sector is likely to witness significant growth in the foreseeable future. The company is about to complete major capital expenditure of Rs 2.7 billion during the current financial year and is well prepared to drive growth in the medium term. The company has also strengthened its balance sheet by infusing funds worth Rs 1.5 billion through QIP and warrants. The funds will enhance the working capital, enabling it to bid for a higher volume of project work.

The stock is available at attractive valuations with the current PE of less than 8 for the trailing 12 months EPS of more than 25. The annualized EPS for the current financial year is likely to be Rs 30 and for FY12 in the region of Rs 35-40. With the company very well prepared to cash in on the high growth in the power sector, investors may get decent returns by accumulating the stock at every correction in the near future. g

*The author has no exposure in the stock recommended in this column.* gfiles *does not accept responsibility for investment decisions by readers of this column. Investment-related queries may be sent to gfilesindia@gmail.com with Dr Sood's name in the subject line.*

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Kamran Rizvi, Nivedita S Verma, Rajesh K Singh

**WEST BENGAL**
Manoj Pant, Aariz Aftab, Arnab Roy

**ASHOK JUNEJA**
The 1989-batch IPS officer of the Chhattigarh cadre has been selected as DDG, Narcotics Department, in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

**ARUN GOYAL**
The 1985-batch IAS officer of the Union Territory cadre has been appointed Minister in the Embassy of India, Tokyo.

**RAMESH ABHISHEK**
The 1982-batch IAS officer of the Bihar cadre has been transferred to Mumbai as Member, Forward Markets Commission.

**ANJALI SHRIVASTAVA**
The 1983-batch IA&AS officer has become Joint Secretary and Financial Adviser in the Coal Ministry.

**AJAY KUMAR**
The 1985-batch IAS officer of the Kerala cadre is now Joint Secretary in the Department of Information Technology.

**AJAY KUMAR SINGH**
The 1989-batch IPS officer has been appointed Director in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

**ALKA BHARGAVA**
The 1987-batch IFS officer of the Assam-Meghalaya cadre has become Director in the HRD Ministry.

**VINOD KUMAR**
The 1986-batch IFS officer has joined the MEA as Joint Secretary in the Parliament and VIP Division.

**DEVESH UTTAM**
The 2003-batch IFS officer is now in the MEA as Under-Secretary in the Gulf Division.

**PRAKASH MISHRA**
The 1977-batch IPS officer of the Orissa cadre is the new ADG in the NIA.

**VANI RAO**
The 1994-batch officer has been posted in the Embassy of India, Tel Aviv.

**CHARAN JEET SINGH**
The 1996-batch officer has been posted in the Embassy of India, Paris.

**TARIKA ROY**
The 1997-batch IRAS officer has joined the MEA as Director, Indian Council of World Affairs.

**RANJAN KHANNA**
The 1994-batch IRSC&CE officer is now PS to Telecom Minister Kapil Sibal.

**SONAL V MISHRA**
The 2000-batch IPS officer of the Tamil Nadu cadre has been appointed in the UN Mission, Italy.

**VK SAXENA**
The 1985-batch IAS officer has become Special Resident Commissioner, Orissa, in New Delhi.

**MANISH PRABHAT**
The 1996-batch IFS officer has been

## *Moving On: ias officers retiring in January 2011*

**ASSAM-MEGHALAYA**
Rafiquz Zaman (1995)

**BIHAR**
Ajay Kumar (1976)

**JAMMU & KASHMIR**
Sham Singh Kapur (1974)

**GUJARAT**
Ashok Chawla (1973)
PNR Chowdhury (1977)

**JHARKHAND**
Ashok Kumar Sinha (1995)
Virendra Ram (1995)

**PUNJAB**
Khushi Ram (1997)

**KERALA**
CV Ananda Bose (1977)

**KARNATAKA**
GL Chandra Sekaraiah (1994)

**RAJASTHAN**
GS Sandhu (1979)

**UTTARAKHAND**
Vijendra Paul (1976)

**UTTAR PRADESH**
PD Sudhakar (1976)
Jacob Thomas (1977)
Shrikrishna (1980)
Tirath Raj Tripathi (1993)

**UNION TERRITORY**
J Raghuraman (1991)

**WEST BENGAL**
R Bandyopadhyay (1974)
Sumantra Chaudhuri (1974)

posted in the MEA headquarters.

**ANIL KUMAR SINHA**
The 1979-batch IPS officer of the Bihar cadre is now Additional Secretary (Joint Secretary level) in the Central Vigilance Commission.

**VB PYARELAL**
The 1983-batch IAS officer of the Assam-Meghalaya cadre has been appointed Joint Secretary in the National Centre for Arts.

**TV NAGENDRA PRASAD**
The 1993-batch officer has been posted in the Embassy of India, Berne.

**B SURESH KRISHNA**
The 1989-batch ITS officer is now Chief Vigilance Officer in the Hindustan Shipyard Limited, Visakhapatnam.

**ALOK KUMAR ROY**
The 1991-batch IPS officer of the Haryana cadre has become Director (DIG), BPR&D.

**P AMUDHA**
The 1994-batch IAS officer of the Tamil Nadu cadre has been made Additional Chief Electoral Officer, Public (Elections) Department.

**SAYAN CHATTERJEE**
The 1976-batch IAS officer of the Kerala cadre has been appointed Secretary, NACO.

**UMASHANKAR PRASAD KUSHWAHA**
The 1998-batch IDAS officer has been appointed Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

**C VANLALRAMSANGA**
The 2001-batch IES officer has become Deputy Secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs.

## The following IPS officers of the 1990 batch have been empanelled for appointment to Inspector General or equivalent rank posts at the Centre

**AGMUT**
Sanjay Singh, Tajendra Singh Luthra, Dependra Pathak
**ASSAM-MEGHALAYA**
Bishnu Ram Rana, YK Gautam
**ANDHRA PRADESH**
Govind Singh, Anjana Sinha, Ravi Gupta, Anjani Kumar
**BIHAR**
Rajwinder Singh Bhatti, Shobha Ohatker, Neeraj Sinha
**CHHATTISGARH**
RC Patel, BS Maravi, Rajesh Kumar Mishra
**GUJARAT**
MD Antani
**HIMACHAL PRADESH**
Shyam Bhagat Negi
**HARYANA**
Ranbir Singh Sharma, Shatrujeet Singh Kapoor
**JHARKHAND**
Anil Palta
**JAMMU & KASHMIR**
B Srinivasan
**KERALA**
Shaik Darvesh Saheb, Harinath Mishra
**KARNATAKA**
Gopal B Hosur, Mohd Wazir Ahmed, S Parashiva Murthy, Bhaskar Rao, Kamal Pant
**MAHARASHTRA**
Kulwant Kumar, AM Kulkarni, Jaijeet Singh, VV Lakshminarayan, Bipin Kumar Singh, Sadanand Vasant Date, Sanjay Kumar Verma
**MADHYA PRADESH**
Arun Pratap Singh, K Vaiphei, VK Maheswari, Sajjad Wasi Naqvi, Anuradha Shankar, Ashok Awasthi, Saiyed Mohd Afzal, BB Sharma ,Vijay Katariya
**ORISSA**
SS Chaturvedi of MT cadre, Arun Kumar Sarangi, YB Khurania, Sudhansu Sarangi
**RAJASTHAN**
Srinivas Rao Janga, Ravi Prakash Meharda, Rajeev Kumar Sharma
**SIKKIM**
Amrendra Kumar Singh
**TAMIL NADU**
TP Sundaramurthy, TV Ravichandran, Abhash Kumar, Shankar Jiwal
**UTTARAKHAND**
V Vinay Kumar, Anju Gupta
**UTTAR PRADESH**
Tanuja Srivastava, Rajiv Ranjan Verma, Subhash Chandra, Satya Narain Sabat, Tilotma Verma, Prashant Kumar, Sanjay Moreshwar Tarde, Avinash Chandra, Bijaya Kumar Maurya, Daljit Singh Chaudhary, Manmohan Kumar Bashal, Sandeep Salunke,Renuka Mishra
**WEST BENGAL**
Daniel Tshering Lepcha, Rajesh Kumar, Debasish Roy, Ranveer Kumar

**D RAJENDRAN**
The 1995-batch IAS officer of the Tamil Nadu cadre has been transferred as Additional Chief Electoral Officer, Public (Elections) Department.

**SHARMILA MARY JOSEPH K**
The 1997-batch IAS officer of the Kerala cadre is now Deputy Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office.

**GARIMA BHATNAGAR**
The 1994-batch IPS officer of the AGMUT cadre has become Additional Commissioner of Police (Vigilance).

**V RENGANATHAN**
The 1997-batch IPS officer of the AGMUT cadre has been transferred as Deputy Commissioner of Police (West district) in Delhi.

## The following IPS officers belonging to 1977 batch have been empanelled to the rank of DG in the government of India

**AGMU**
Ajay Chadha, Kanwaljit Deol, Bhim Sain Bassi, A S Khan
**ASSAM-MEGHALAYA**
Prem Singh, Anil Pradhan, Subhas Goswami
**ANDHRA PRADESH**
A Sivasankar, Umesh Kumar
**BIHAR**
Abhay Anand, Shafi Alam, V Narayanan, S Jayaraman, Arun Choudhary
**GUJARAT**
V K Gupta,K Nityanandam, S K Saikia
**HIMACHAL PRADESH**
D.S.Manhas
**HARYANA**
V N Rai, P K Mehta
**MAHARASHTRA**
S S Dayal, P N Dixit, K B Gokulchandran,
**JHARKHAND**
Gouri Shankar Rath
**KERAL**
Arvind Ranjan
**MT**
J C Dabas
**MADHYA PRADESH**
S A Ibrahim, V K Panwar, V M Kanwar
**ORISSA**
Prakash Mishra
**PUNJAB**
Shashi Kant
**RAJASTHAN**
Omendra Bhardwaj
**TAMIL NADU**
K R Shyam Sundar
**UTTAR PRADESH**
BM Saraswat, Brij Lal
**WEST BENGAL**
Vageesh Mishra, Nawal Kishore Singh

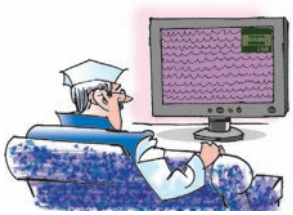
## Singing while Karnataka burned....

WHILE Karnataka Chief Minister BS Yeddyurappa was facing the music from his opponents in the state, his Information and Publicity Director, Muddu Mohan, was singing songs in a London music festival. In his absence, there was no media management. After being appointed Information Director, Mohan got an invitation to perform in the London cultural festival. And, instead of manning his post, particularly in the hour of need of his benefactor, Yeddyurappa, he rushed off to London and stayed put for 10 days.

His appointment itself flouted rules as only IAS officers can be appointed Directors. But Mohan is a singer, not a civil servant. The media is also unhappy because files relating to accreditation of journalists are piling up in his office and special rail passes for scribes are awaiting his signature. But the Information Director remains oblivious.

## Rajya Sabha conundrum

WHY launch Rajya Sabha TV when Lok Sabha TV is already functioning? This question is being raised in Parliament as well as in drawing rooms. And most members of the Upper House feel exactly the way most citizens do. Initially, the Rajya Sabha Secretariat wrote to its Lok Sabha counterpart, suggesting that both Houses join hands and create a joint identity to disseminate information about themselves. The suggestion was made a year ago. Had common sense prevailed, the country's exchequer would have been saved a few crore rupees. But the file never saw the light of day, irrespective of several reminders. After waiting in vain, the Rajya Sabha decided to launch its own TV channel.



Insiders say that the Lok Sabha Secretariat officials fear losing their authority. Currently, financial sanction is done by the Lok Sabha's top officials. But who takes the decisions in the Lok Sabha Secretariat—an official, the Speaker or a Parliamentary Committee? Something is rotten in the state of Denmark....

## Never-say-die Ramachandran

WHEN one door shuts, it's a matter of time before another one opens. Those who know this never give up. So M Ramachandran, a 1972-batch retired IAS officer, did not lose heart when he missed the coveted Cabinet Secretary's post owing to KM Chandrasekhar being given a year's extension in June 2009. Other officers who had also been in the running were compensated. PJ Thomas became Chief Vigilance Commissioner. Sudha Pillai, a batchmate of Ramachandran's, was appointed Member Secretary of the Planning Commission.

But Ramachandran had to keep waiting until now. He had earlier been Chief Secretary in Uttarakhand and also steered the Central programme, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), as Secretary, Urban Development. His role in infrastructure development had caught the eye of none other than UP Chief Minister Mayawati. She has appointed him Adviser (Infrastructure) with the rank of a Cabinet Minister to speed up infrastructure projects in Uttar Pradesh. Whose loss this is, is anybody's guess.

## Wily Samaritan

KILLING two birds with one stone is a skill that Arup Roy Choudhury, Chairman and Managing Director of the National Thermal Power Corporation, has mastered. Fast becoming a hero among the employees of the corporation, he called the senior management together and explained his vision for the future of NTPC employees. Every employee, he said, should have two houses on retirement - one to live in and the other to generate an income for the old person to live on. Some officials who know him well smiled.

ILLUSTRATIONS: ARUNA

Now the total number of houses needed for NTPC employees across the country is being tabulated. But NTPC is a power generation company, it does not construct houses. So who will do this? Sources say the houses will be built by the National Building Construction Company (NBCC). Choudhury was its CMD and hauled it out of the red. Since he left, it is again not doing very well. This way, he will have a grip on NBCC as well. g

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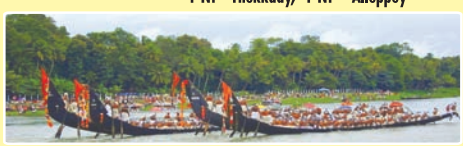

**Ind.: Return Airfare**, Stay per person on twin sharing basis, Breakfast, Sightseeing by A/c Vehicle, all taxes

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